

Message Text

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AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
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USMISSION USNATO
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 04 MADRID 04261

USEEC AND USOECD ALSO FOR EMBASSIES

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: ELAB, PINT, SP
SUBJECT: LABOR PLANT ELECTIONS: A REVIEW OF RESULTS

1. SUMMARY: MOST OBSERVERS HAVE RUNG DOWN THE CURTAIN
ON THE LABOR PLANT ELECTIONS WHICH HAVE DRAGGED ON FOR
THREE MONTHS. DESPITE THE DISPARITY IN FIGURES, THERE
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IS GENERAL CONSENSUS THAT TRADE UNION POWER HAS BI-
POLARIZED AROUND THE COMMUNIST-DOMINATED CC.OO. AND
THE SOCIALIST UGT, WITH THE FORMER HAVING TAKEN FIRST
PLACE. EFE NEWS AGENCY RESULTS ARE AS FOLLOWS: CC.OO
37.8 PERCENT, UGT 31, INDEPENDENTS 12.7, USO 5.9,
CSUT 4, SU 2.7, STV 2.5, WITH REMAINDER SMALL REGIONAL
AND SPLINTER UNIONS. THE CC.OO.'S STRONG SHOWING

WILL HELP THE COMMUNISTS IN THE POLITICAL ARENA, ALTHOUGH ITS VOTES ARE NOT NECESSARILY TRANSFERABLE. THE UGT DESERVES HIGH MARKS FOR DOING AS WELL AS IT DID NATIONWIDE, HANDICAPPED BY A FLEDGLING ORGANIZATION AND LIMITED FINANCES. NO ONE UNION NOW DOMINATES THE LABOR SCENE. THE INDEPENDENTS DID BETTER THAN EXPECTED (12) AND MAY HAVE A FUTURE BUT AS IMPORTANT QUESTIONS INVOLVING INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS, NEW LABOR LEGISLATION, AND POSSIBLE "SOCIAL PACTS" COME UP, THE CENTER OF ATTENTION WILL NOW BE THE "BIG TWO". END SUMMARY

2. MOST LABOR OBSERVERS, FRUSTRATED BY THE BARRAGE OF CONFLICTING AND OFTEN UNRELIABLE ELECTION RESULTS EMANATING FROM PRESS AGENCIES, THE MINISTRY OF LABOR, AND THE UNIONS THEMSELVES, HAVE RUNG DOWN THE CURTAIN ON THESE LABOR PLANT ELECTIONS WHICH HAVE NOW DRAGGED ON FOR THREE MONTHS AND ARE FINALLY ABOUT OVER (ORIGINAL TIMEFRAME: JANUARY 16 - FEBRUARY 6). ALTHOUGH THE GOVT HAD INITIALLY CONSIDERED THESE ELECTIONS AS ONLY "PARTIAL" AND "TRANSITIONAL" PENDING PARLIAMENTARY ACTION ON A DEFINITIVE PLANT ELECTION LAW -- AND THUS TO BE HELD ONLY AT SELECTED PLANTS WHERE PLANT REPRESENTATIVES WERE NEEDED URGENTLY AND EITHER DID NOT EXIST OR CLEARLY NEEDED TO BE REPLACED-- THE UNIONS QUICKLY SUCCEEDED IN BROADENING THE SCOPE. AS A CONSEQUENCE, OVER 150,000 DELEGATES HAVE NOW BEEN ELECTED, AND LABOR MINISTER CALVO ORTEGA TOLD THE

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AMBASSADOR APRIL 12 THAT HE ESTIMATED THAT APPROXIMATELY ONE HALF OF THE ELIGIBLE WORKERS (I.E. ONE HALF OF ABOUT SIX MILLION) HAD PARTICIPATED -- TO A LARGE EXTENT IN PLANTS WHERE EITHER THE SOCIALIST UGT OR THE COMMUNIST-DOMINATED WORKERS' COMMISSIONS (CC.OO.) CALCULATED THEY HAD A FAVORABLE POSITION. UNDER THE TERMS OF LABOR LEGISLATION CURRENTLY BEING DEBATED IN THE CORTES, WORKERS IN PLANTS THAT HAVE NOT PARTICIPATED IN THESE ELECTIONS WOULD BE REQUIRED TO GO TO THE POLLS BEFORE THE END OF THE YEAR.

3. DESPITE THE DISPARITY IN FIGURES, THERE IS GENERAL CONSENSUS THAT A) THERE HAS OCCURRED A BI-POLARIZATION OF TRADE UNION POWER WITH THE CC.OO. AND THE UGT (JOINTLY CONTROLLING ABOUT 70 PERCENT OF THE DELEGATES) FAR AHEAD OF THE OTHER CONTENDERS AND B) THE CC.OO. HAS TAKEN FIRST PLACE WITH A MARGIN OF FROM 7 TO 13 PERCENTAGE POINTS -- DEPENDING ON THE COUNT -- OVER THE UGT. THE PROVISIONAL "FINAL" RESULTS ACCORDING TO THE EFE NEWS AGENCY AND LABOR MINISTRY (LATTER FIGURES IN PARENTHESES) ARE AS FOLLOWS: CC.OO. 37.8 PERCENT, 47,100 DELEGATES (35.1/54,300); UGT 31 PERCENT,

38,700 DELEGATES (22.3/34,400); INDEPENDENTS 12.7 PERCENT,
15,800 (12.1/18,800); INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST USO 5.9
PERCENT, 7,400 (3.5/5,400); "UNITARY" MAOIST CSUT
4 PERCENT, 5,000 (2.8/4,300); "UNITARY" MAOIST SU 2.7
PERCENT, 3,400 (1.7/2,700); AND "AFFILIATION UNKNOWN"
CATEGORY (ONLY SHOWN IN LABOR MINISTRY CALCULATIONS)
18 PERCENT, 27,800). THE EFE FIGURES ARE BASED UPON
ELECTIONS IN 29,900 PLANTS WITH A TOTAL OF 124,600
PLANT DELEGATES. THE LABOR MINISTRY TABULATIONS SHOW

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USEEC AND USOECD ALSO FOR EMBASSIES

151,700 DELEGATES ELECTED (NUMBER OF PLANTS NOT INDICATED).
ASIDE FROM THE REGIONAL UNIONS (SEE BELOW), EFE ALSO
LISTS 2,300 DELEGATES (2 PERCENT) ELECTED BY INDEPENDENT
SPLINTER UNIONS (INCLUDING SUCH SMALL, OFTEN CENTER-

ORIENTED UNIONS AS CTI, CDT, CGT, AND CTC) AND INDIVIDUAL INDUSTRIAL SECTOR OR ONE-PLANT UNIONS (ESPECIALLY IN BANKING, SANITATION AND HEALTH, COMMERCIAL, METAL, AND CONFIDENTIAL

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TRANSPORT FIELDS). THE ANARCHO-SYNDICAL CNT, IT WILL BE RECALLED, BOYCOTTED THE ELECTIONS.

4. AMONG THE SEVERAL REGIONAL UNIONS, ONLY THE BASQUE STV MADE ITS MARK, COMING THROUGH WITH FLYING COLORS (EFE FIGURES: 2.5 PERCENT, 3,100 DELEGATES). RUNNING ONLY IN THE FOUR BASQUE PROVINCES, THIS SMALL BUT WELL-ORGANIZED BREAD-AND-BUTTER TRADE UNION NAILED DOWN ITS POSITION IN THAT AREA, AND TOOK FIRST PLACE IN GUIPUZCOA PROVINCE. ALSO IN THE BASQUE REGION, THE RADICAL SOCIALIST LAB ELECTED 771 DELEGATES AND THE STV (INDEPENDENT) MANAGED 309 (ALL IN THE BILBAO INDUSTRIAL AREA). THE SMALL CATALAN SOC PROVED INEFFECTUAL ON ITS HOME TURF AS IT WAS SWAMPED BY BOTH CC.OO. AND UGT WHICH HAVE NOW QUITE CLEARLY ASSUMED THE "NATIONALIST UNION" ROLE IN CATALUNYA (TOGETHER WITH THE TRADITIONALLY CATALUNYA-ORIENTED CNT). THE GALICIAN SOG (SINDICATO OBRERO GALEGO) WITH 81 DELEGATES AND THE CANARY ISLANDS SOC (SINDICATO OBRERO CANARIO) WITH 240 CAUSED BARELY A RIPPLE IN THEIR REGIONS.

5. LOOKING AT THE PROVINCIAL PANORAMA, THE UGT AND THE CC.OO. ABOUT BROKE EVEN IN TERMS OF NUMBER OF PROVINCES WON, WITH OVER 20 EACH. THE REMAINDER OF THE 50 PROVINCES WERE SPLIT AMONG THE INDEPENDENTS (AVILA AND ORENSE), USO (CADIZ), SU (NAVARRA), AND STV (GUIPUZCOA). HOWEVER, MOST OF SPAIN'S MORE HEAVILY INDUSTRIALIZED AND DEVELOPED PROVINCES (WITH THE NOTABLE EXCEPTION OF THE BASQUE PROVINCE OF VISCAYA) WERE IN THE CC.OO. COLUMN: BARCELONA, MADRID, VALENCIA, SEVILLA, ALICANTE, LA CORUNA, ASTURIAS -- THAT IS, ALMOST ALL THE PROVINCES HAVING OVER ONE MILLION INHABITANTS. THE UGT TENDED TO TAKE THE MEASURE OF ITS

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COMMUNIST RIVAL IN THE LESS-INDUSTRIALIZED, AGRARIAN, CONSERVATIVE-ORIENTED AREAS SUCH AS EXTREMADURA, EAST ANDALUCIA, CANARIES, MURCIA, AND CASTILLA LA VIEJA. PARADOXICALLY, HOWEVER, THE UGT HAD ITS BEST RESULTS IN THE LARGER FIRMS, WHILE THE CC.OO. BUILT UP ITS LEAD IN MEDIUM AND SMALL-SIZED FIRMS. THUS, ONE

TABULATION OF ELECTION RESULTS IN PLANTS EMPLOYING OVER 1000 WORKERS EACH (REPRESENTING A TOTAL WORK FORCE OF ALMOST ONE HALF MILLION) SHOWED UGT (2,600 DELEGATES) RUNNING NECKKAND-NECK WITH CC.OO. (2,800 DELEGATES). AGAIN, IN VERY GENERAL TERMS, THE INDUSTRIAL PLANT VOTE TENDED TO LEAN TOWARD THE CC.OO., AND SERVICES AND COMMERCE TOWARD THE UGT.

6. BOTH THE CC.OO. AND THE UGT HAVE CRITICIZED THE GOVT'S HANDLING OF THE PLANT ELECTION RETURNS. CC.OO. SECGEN MARCELINO CAMACHO (ALSO PCE DEPUTY) ACCUSED THE GOVT IN THE CORTES ON APRIL 13 OF FAVORING "YELLOW" TRADE UNIONISM BY BEEFING UP THE "AFFILIATION UNKNOWN" CATEGORY. IN HIS OPINION, THE WORKERS HAD VOTED OVERWHELMINGLY FOR THE CC.OO. AND THE UGT "IN ORDER THAT THEY SEARCH FOR THE ROAD OF UNITY." THIS "UNITY OF ACTION" SIREN CALL WAS ECHOED BY CC.OO. LEADER NICOLAS SARTORIUS WHEN HE DECLARED THAT FOR THE WORKERS THERE WERE ONLY TWO TRADE UNIONS, CC.OO. AND UGT, AND THAT THE OTHER TRADE UNIONS WOULD HAVE TO ACCEPT THIS -- "ONE CANNOT PRACTICE TRADE UNIONISM TODAY WITH 2, OR 3, OR 5 PERCENT OF THE WORKERS' VOTES." IN A RECENT MEETING WITH THE BRITISH LABATT, SARTORIUS AND CC.OO. INTERNATIONAL SECRETARY SERAFIN ALIAGA SAID THEY CONSIDERED THEIR UNION TO BE "WELL AHEAD" OF THE UGT, AND WERE QUITE FRANK IN STATING THAT THE CC.OO. WAS "INTERESTED AND ANXIOUS" TO UNDERTAKE UNITY OF ACTION EFFORTS WITH THE UGT.

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USEEC AND USOECD ALSO FOR EMBASSIES

7. ALTHOUGH THE UGT CONTINUES TO TAKE EXCEPTION TO THE LABOR MINISTRY FIGURES AND ACCUSES THE GOVT OF HAVING "FAVORED" THE CC.OO. IN ITS ELECTION GROUND RULES (A "BIG MISTAKE" WHICH THE GOVT WILL LIVE TO REGRET), THE UNION HAS RECONCILED ITSELF TO BEING "A CLOSE SECOND". PLAYING THE GAME, PSOE LEADER FELIPE GDNZALEZ HAS DECLARED HIMSELF TO BE "TREMENDOUSLY SATISFIED" WITH
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THE UGT SHOWING. HE WENT ON TO NOTE THAT ONE MUST REMEMBER THAT THE UGT NEVER PARTICIPATED IN THE OFFICIAL SYNDICAL VERTICAL STRUCTURE, "A QUESTION WHICH THE CC.OO. SHOULD BE ASKED--." WITH RESPECT TO UNITY OF ACTION, UGT SECGEN NICOLAS REDONDO (ALSO PSOE DEPUTY) TOLD LABATT RECENTLY THAT THEY WERE WELL AWARE OF CC.OO. AMBITIONS IN THIS MATTER AND THAT THE UGT WOULD COOPERATE JUST ENOUGH TO AVOID ANY CHARGES THAT THEY OPPOSED "UNITY OF THE WORKERS." THE UGT WOULD REACT ON A CASE BY CASE BASIS, AND THERE WAS "NO QUESTION" OF CREATING ANY FORMAL MECHANISM SUCH AS THE DEFUNCT COS (A 1976 UNITY OF ACTION ORGANISM WHICH GROUPED THE UGT, CC.OO., AND USO).

8. A NUMBER OF GENERAL COMMENTS CAN BE MADE. THERE IS LITTLE DOUBT THAT 15 YEARS OF MILITANCY IN THE PLANTS DURING THE FRANCO ERA -- PURSUING A POLICY OF PENETRATION OF THE VERTICAL STRUCTURE IN ORDER TO "CONQUER FROM WITHIN" -- BENEFITTED THE CC.OO. IN COMPARISON TO THE UGT (CAST IN THE ROLE OF "NEWCOMER" DESPITE ALMOST 100 YEARS OF TRADITION). THE PSOE ELECTORAL MAGIC SIMPLY DID NOT RUB OFF ON THE UGT TO THE EXTENT EXPECTED, AND PREMATURE UGT/PSOE VICTORY PROCLAMATIONS WERE SOON MUTED. THE TWO TO THREE RATIO OF VOTES BETWEEN UGT AND CC.OO. IN THE LABOR ELECTIONS HARDLY MATCHED THE SOCIALISTS' THREE TO ONE MARGIN OVER

THE COMMUNISTS IN THE JUNE 1977 LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS. AS ONE OBSERVER COMMENTED WRYLY, THE LETTER "O" (FOR WORKER) IN PSOE (PARTIDO SOCIALISTA OBRERO ESPANOL) LACKS A BIT OF BRILLIANCE FOLLOWING THE LABOR ELECTIONS. IN RETROSPECT, HOWEVER, THE UGT DESERVES HIGH MARKS FOR HAVING DONE AS WELL AS IT DID NATIONWIDE, HANDICAPPED BY A FLEDGLING ORGANIZATIONAL SET-UP AND
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LIMITED FINANCES. THE CC.OO.'S STRONG SHOWING CAN BE EXPECTED TO HELP THE PCE AND PSUC (THE COMMUNIST BRANCH IN CATALUNYA) IN THE POLITICAL ARENA, ALTHOUGH WE WOULD POINT OUT THAT MANY WORKERS WHO VOTED FOR CC.OO. WERE NOT COMMUNISTS AND THEIR VOTES ARE THEREFORE NOT AUTOMATICALLY TRANSFERABLE TO THE PCE. THESE NON-COMMUNIST WORKERS APPARENTLY ACCEPTED THE CC.OO. LINE THAT THE UNION WAS NOT IN FACT COMMUNIST-DOMINATED AND REPRESENTED "ALL THE WORKERS". THEY THUS OPTED TO SUPPORT THE UNION WHICH THEY FELT HAD THE MOST EXPERIENCE AND HENCE COULD "DELIVER" TO ITS MEMBERS.

9. TO SOME DEGREE, SPAIN HAS HUED TO THE MEDITERRANEAN PATTERN (ESPECIALLY FRANCE AND PORTUGAL) IN THAT SOCIALIST POLITICAL SUPREMACY OVER THE COMMUNISTS HAS NOT BEEN TRANSLATED -- AT LEAST NOT IN THIS FIRST STAGE -- TO THE LABOR FIELD. HOWEVER, THESE ARE VERY EARLY DAYS IN SPANISH TRADE UNIONISM, AND THE CC.OO.'S "VICTORY" DOES NOT NECESSARILY REFLECT ANY LONG-TERM TREND. AS A MATTER OF FACT, THE EMBASSY FINDS CONSIDERABLE VALIDITY IN THE THESIS THAT WHILE THE CC.OO. MAY NOW HAVE PEAKED OUT, THE UGT IS STILL SURGING FORWARD ON THE UPSWING.

10. IN ANY CASE, EMERGENCE OF "INDEPENDENTS" AS THE THIRD LARGEST VOTING BLOC WITH 12 PERCENT (STRONGEST SHOWING IN THE SERVICES AND WHITE COLLAR SECTORS) VERY DEFINITELY WOULD SEEM TO LEAVE THE DOOR OPEN FOR THE MUCH-RUMORED THIRD MAINSTREAM, "NON-MARXIST ALTERNATIVE", CENTER-ORIENTED LABOR MOVEMENT THAT THE GOVT AND ITS UCD POLITICAL PARTY ARE SO ANXIOUS TO SEE DEVELOP.

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USEEC AND USOECD ALSO FOR EMBASSIES

11. IN CONCLUSION, NO ONE UNION DOMINATES THE SPANISH
LABOR SCENE. BI-POLARIZATION CURRENTLY IS THE NAME OF
THE GAME AS A RESULT OF THE ELECTIONS, AND THE "BIG TWO"
FURTHER ENJOY THE DISTINCT ADVANTAGE OF DIRECT SUPPORT IN
THE PARLIAMENT. IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN WHETHER THE OTHER
SMALLER SO-CALLED "NATIONWIDE" UNIONS (USO, CNT, CSUT,
SU, ETC) CAN HANG ON AND EVEN GROW, WILL FADE FROM THE
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PICTURE, OR BE ABSORBED BY UGT OR CC.OO. THERE ARE NOW
REPORTS OF AN ATTEMPT AT FEDERATION OF INDEPENDENTS.
HOWEVER, AS IMPORTANT QUESTIONS INVOLVING INDUSTRIAL
RELATIONS, NEW LABOR LEGISLATION, AND POSSIBLE "SOCIAL
PACTS" COME UP, THE CENTER OF ATTENTION WILL BE THE "BIG
TWO" FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE. STABLER

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